Regional Performance as Intangible Cultural Heritage

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The maidens came.
When I was in my mother's bower,
I had all that I would.
The bailey beareth the bell away;
The lily, the rose, the rose I lay.
The silver is white, red is the gold;
The robes they lay in fold.
The bailey beareth the bell away;
The lily, the rose, the rose I lay.
And through the glass windows shines the sun.
How should I love, and I so young?
The bailey beareth the bell away;
The lily, the rose, the rose I lay.

Lines from the *Durham Song*, as recited by Dylan Thomas.[1]

Between 2013-18, the project Records of Early English Drama North-East gathered some 10,000 textual records pertaining to drama, music, ceremony, and public festivity in England's north-east, from the earliest beginnings in the eighth century to the onset of the English Civil War in 1642. The haul included manuscripts with medieval pilgrim and mystery plays, accounts of rites that were customary in Durham Cathedral before the Reformation, but also evidence on popular entertainment, such as medieval stag ceremonies and May games. Some of the material attested to anonymous groups of performers, while other documents hinted cryptically at individuals, such as "Mother Naked," an entertainer of tantalizingly unknown talents once employed by the Priory of Durham.[2] Among the texts of major significance from the region, we

[1] Anon., "The Lily and the Rose," in Dylan Thomas, *The Colour of Saying,* 8-9.

[2] The Durham Priory bursar's account for 1433-1434 (memb. 4d) includes a payment of fourpence to a male minstrel ("vni ministrallo") named "Modyr Nakett". Mother Naked's particular routine is unknown; he may have performed as a burly Man-Woman figure as known in folk plays, or a kind of predecessor to the later Panto dame, or specialised in something grotesque or obscene. His payment is the smallest to

studied the Anglo-Saxon *Harrowing of Hell* (before 750, perhaps from Lindisfarne), probably the oldest play surviving in the British Isles, and we recited and performed the *Durham Song*, a Tudor musical fragment connected with festivities in old Durham which inspired such luminaries as Igor Stravinsky and Dylan Thomas. In its entirety, the corpus we investigated constitutes important evidence of Britain's – and indeed Europe's and the world's – dramatic heritage. Durham is itself a UNESCO World Heritage Site: Norman cathedral and medieval castle, once residence of Durham's Prince Bishops, are situated on a peninsula framed by the River Wear; this intact ensemble of riverbank, surrounding woodland, and imposing architecture allows visitors to appreciate vistas that have not changed much since the days of King Charles I and Oliver Cromwell. Nor has the cathedral ever been out of use: the complex has been a living and working World Heritage Site for over a thousand years. Such contexts prompt a reflection on how records of early drama are connected both with the landscapes and built environment of the region, and the communities that generated and (in some cases) keep alive the dramatic practices recorded. As researchers, we are steadily confronted with what we can still see or touch – manuscripts, buildings, objects, and so on – in short, tangible expressions of what UNESCO would define as "cultural heritage." Tangible elements of cultural heritage raise questions about their intangible implications. Might the poor vestiges of the *Durham Song* in the British Library hint at the actual soundscape of a fair in a Renaissance town? Who or what is the enigmatic Bailey? And might the lyric about the lily and the rose reflect a young woman's anxiety at the prospect of marriage?[3] John McKinnell ponders the historical background of such questions in the present volume; my concern here is more about the legacies of our records. Why does the fragment have enduring appeal, attracting the likes of W. H. Auden, featuring in Thomas's broadcast readings, and appearing most recently as "Poem of the Week" in a British newspaper?[4] How should we preserve, study, and present dramatic cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, and what might be the challenges? This final chapter will consider the wider meaning and future of early regional drama as intangible cultural heritage, and focus on Durham as both a

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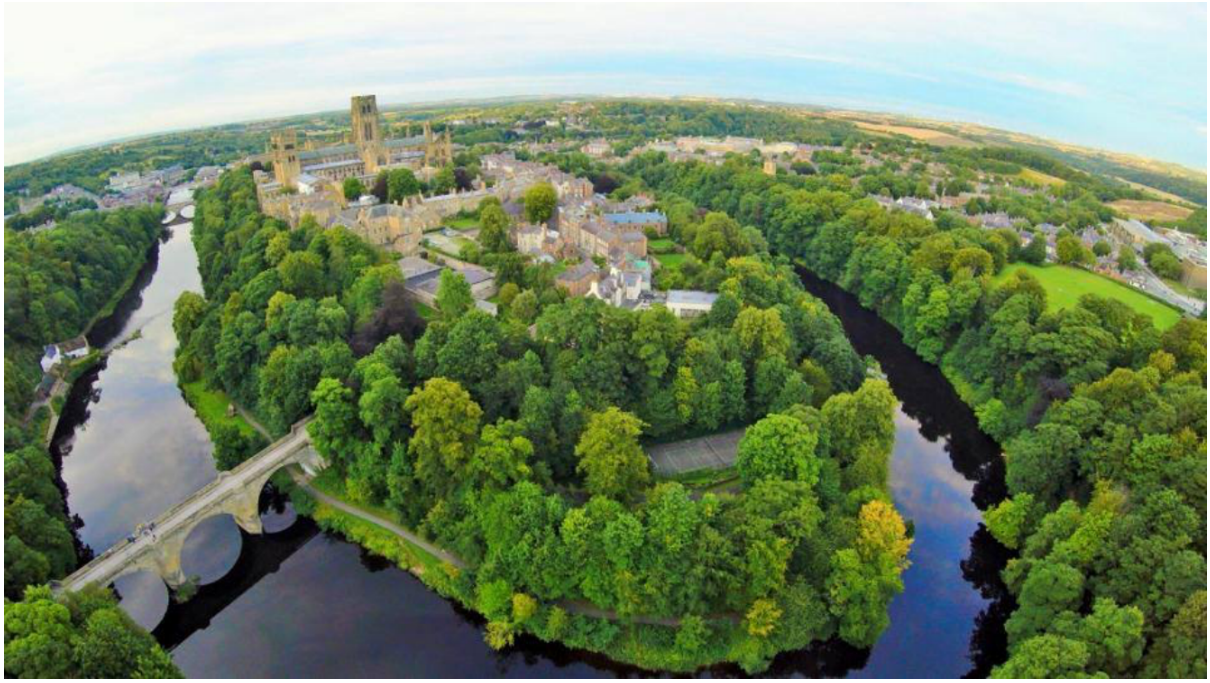
any minstrel in these accounts, which suggests the performance was not particularly valued. I owe this information to Dr Mark Chambers.

[3] British Library, MS Harley 7578. See also Milsom, "Cries of Durham," 147-60.

[4] Rumens, "Poem of the Week: The Bridal Morn," *The Guardian*, October 8, 2012. https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/oct/08/poem-of-the-week-bridal-morn. Rumens finds the poem "haunting:" "this anonymous lyric combines its mysteries with a very concrete set of images and a beguiling music."

UNESCO world heritage site and a location associated with a long and rich performance history.
[Insert Illustration 13 here.]



Aerial view of the peninsula of Durham, World Heritage Site. Durham University, 2017.

Heritage – Definitions and Aspirations

The current understanding of "heritage," with its widening abstract significance, is relatively recent. In medieval England, "heritage" was simply physical property to be passed on. The sense of "condition or state transmitted from ancestors" emerged only around 1700 in British usage, and the notion of "cultural heritage" as tourist attraction or feature of historical interest became popular from the 1970s.[5] On a global level, the United Nations *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (proclaimed 1948) heralded a step change in thinking about "cultural heritage:" all people shared a fundamental right to "participate in the cultural life of the community."[6] UNESCO defines "heritage" as

[5] *OED*, "heritage," *n.*, usage from 1970s onwards; www.oed.com.

[6] *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, proclaimed at the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, 10 December 1948, §27. Full text translated into over 500 languages available at https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/.

> our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations.[7]

Heritage, thus understood, inspires communities, who in turn shape and preserve it. Cultural legacies include assets "of Outstanding Universal Value" to humankind – assets which belong to all peoples of the world and which need to be protected for future generations to appreciate and enjoy.[8] UNESCO's vision of cultural heritage is that of a common good: a source of creative impulses, but also an asset which comes with responsibilities. Cultural heritage may be marshalled to maintain social diversity and intercultural dialogue. It may play a critical role in conflict mitigation and sustainable development, as the example of Lumbini, Nepal (World Heritage Site since 1997, twinned with Durham) demonstrates: active since *c.*550 BC, the Birthplace of the Buddha is an important global pilgrimage destination for Buddhists and Hindus alike, who visit the archaeological remains and worship. A model for prosperous co-existence, the site encourages collaboration between very different stakeholders – Nepal's governing Communist Party and populations of different religious faiths – and enhances the region's economic well-being. However, other expressions of cultural heritage may give rise to conflict. In 2019, UNESCO took the unprecedented step of striking off an immaterial asset, the street carnival in Aalst, Belgium, a six hundred-year-old popular institution. The carnival lost its status because it had repeatedly featured, as commissioners put it, racist and antisemitic elements. Thus, March 2019 saw a pageant car illustrating the Jewish-orthodox "Sabbath" with big-nosed figures perched on money bags, which could not be reconciled with the values of the UNESCO Charter.[9]

UNESCO's 1972 and 2003 Conventions distinguish between tangible cultural assets (monuments, buildings, sites and artefacts) and intangible ones, defined as "that which is untouchable, such as knowledge, memories and feelings […] the immaterial elements that influence and surround all human activity."[10] Such intangible assets comprise living cultural

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[7] "Monuments, buildings and sites of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; from ethnological, aesthetic, or anthropological point of view." (Art.1). UNESCO, *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, Articles 1-2, at https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/.

[8] UNESCO, *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, Articles 1-2.

[9] "Karneval in Aalst verliert Status als Weltkulturerbe," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 13, 2019, https://faz.net.

[10] Stefano, Davis and Corsane, "Touching the Intangible," 1-5, at 1.

heritage, usually expressed in oral traditions, performing arts, social customs, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature; or traditional craftsmanship.[11]

The *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Paris, October 17, 2003; in force since April 2006) stipulates an explicit connection with human rights and responsibilities. It defines intangible cultural heritage as

> the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development.[12]

Cultural heritage's manifestations are exuberantly varied: in October 2019, UNESCO listed 1121 tangible and 508 intangible assets across 167 member-states; altogether thirty-two World Heritage Sites were registered in the UK.[13] Worldwide, examples range from the Sydney Opera House to the Georgian alphabet, Vanuatu sand drawings, and the Belgian practice of shrimp fishing on horseback. Any application for inclusion of a potential asset in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity requires "the widest possible participation" of the communities connected with the proposed asset, so as to provide evidence of broad-based relevance.[14] A current example which pertains to early regional performance would be the

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[11] UNESCO, *Basic Texts*, Article 2, §2a-e, https://ich.unesco.org.

[12] UNESCO, *Basic Texts*, Article 2, §1. See also Alivizatou, "The UNESCO Programme for the Proclamation of Masterpieces," 34-42, at 34-35. For a history see also Labadi, *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage and Outstanding Universal Value.*

[13] Intangible assets at https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists; continuously updated world heritage assets at https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/.

[14] UNESCO, *Basic Texts*, Operational Directives, Ch. 1.2.

Landshut Wedding, Germany's largest historic festival. The *Landshut Wedding* celebrates the marriage of a Polish princess and the Duke of Bavaria's son in 1475 with pageants, early music, dance and theatre, street entertainment, and tournaments, in the city of Landshut, Bavaria, over four weeks in summer every four years. First staged in 1903 with 145 costumed performers, it now involves well over 2000, and attracts about 120,000 visitors on a typical weekend.[15] In 2017 the festival was endorsed by the organising society's 8000 members and consequently included in Bavaria's state inventory of intangible cultural heritage; the nomination is now being progressed to Germany's national list.[16] The case for support stresses the multidimensional grassroots nature of an event which takes place in a protected town centre, turning the latter into a living and lived-in heritage environment.[17] The closest British equivalent might be York celebrating medieval cycle plays in the historic city. Revivals of early English drama proliferated in the twentieth century, alongside a growing popular and academic interest in early music; the Festival of Britain (1951) with its exhibitions and events across the country, gave a massive boost to such efforts.[18] As for Landshut, the dynamic relationship between the city's architecture and the people who inhabit it has mutual benefits: the former provides an authentic historical frame, enhancing a community's self-representation in public; in turn, an environment that is so closely connected to local identities is more likely to be protected.[19] In this way, one could term the Landshut festival a "monument in the making," composed of tangible elements (the old town) and intangible ones (the interactions in the streets). The *Landshut Wedding* demonstrates the power of historic revivals to integrate and create stable communities, improve local self-awareness, and – not least – contribute significantly to the city's coffers.[20] Intriguingly in this case, it is not the historic event but its *revival* that has been proposed as intangible heritage – a revival that, in the course of over 100 years, has developed a history of its own.

The work on REED North-East sharpened our awareness of tangible and intangible assets in the region's dramatic history. Durham Cathedral and Castle constitute a tangible asset of Outstanding Universal Value, inscribed in UNESCO's list in 1986. The Cathedral, once part of a medieval Benedictine monastery, hosts the tombs of the saints Bede (d.735) and Cuthbert

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[15] Numbers from Bleichner, *Die Landshuter Fürstenhochzeit 1475*, 96, 136.

[16] *Die Landshuter Fürstenhochzeit*, 173.

[17] *Die Landshuter Fürstenhochzeit*, 174.

[18] For revivals of drama in an English context, see Oakshott, "The Fortune of Wheels," 367-73, and Rogerson, "Medieval Mystery Plays in the Modern World," 343-66.

[19] *Die Landshuter Fürstenhochzeit*, 188.

[20] *Die Landshuter Fürstenhochzeit*, 211.

(d.687); it is considered the finest example of Norman architecture in the United Kingdom. The physical integrity of medieval Durham is not its only asset: as a living, millennial World Heritage Site it is also an active centre of learning, community life, and religious practice, and thus a witness to intangible uses and traditions. Music, dance, ceremony, and various forms of drama and popular entertainment shape Durham's intangible heritage alongside its palpable history of stone and mortar. To safeguard intangible heritage, UNESCO recommends measures that chime with the aims of the REED initiative: "the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage."[21] This chapter reflects on what such measures might mean in practice, when applied to dramatic evidence connected with Durham's World Heritage Site. Examples include the *Harrowing of Hell*, a dramatic text which may have originated from Cuthbert's monastery at Lindisfarne; *Peregrini*, a pilgrim play penned by a Benedictine monk at Durham; Durham's medieval boy bishop tradition; and finally, church rituals associated with local dragon lore. Our project engaged with all of these by way of documentation and textual study, but we also attempted creative forms of dramatic revival.

From the Tangible to the Intangible and Back: The Case of Durham

The "Lindisfarne" *Harrowing of Hell*

The "Lindisfarne" *Harrowing of Hell* (possibly before 750) may be the earliest surviving dramatic text in the British Isles. A fragment of it in Latin is included in the ninth-century Book of Cerne, now at Cambridge;[22] a related, fuller Old English version can be found in the Blickling Homilies (*c.*971), considered to be "the earliest extant collection of vernacular preaching texts in England,"

[21] UNESCO, *Basic Texts*, Article 2, §3.

[22] "De descensu Christi ad inferos," Book of Cerne, CUL MS Ll.1.10, fols. 98v-99v. https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-LL-00001-00010/1; Michelle Brown, *The Book of Cerne*. Dumville, "Liturgical Drama," describes the text as "perhaps the earliest example of the liturgical drama which is extant" (374), identifying an earlier section within the Book of Cerne and associating it with Æðiluald, bishop of Lindisfarne (died 740).

now in Princeton.[23] Both texts derive from a common Latin source, now lost.[24] The text builds on an early Christian idea, the "Harrowing of Hell:" Adam and Eve's original sin has led to the fall of mankind, which means that everyone is doomed to Hell after death, including those whom the Book of Cerne terms the "ancient righteous" ("antiqui iusti") – the innumerable souls who have lived blameless lives. In Christian thought, hope comes with the advent of Jesus. In the three days between his crucifixion and resurrection, Christ descends to Hell, where he defeats Satan and his devils. He releases Adam and Eve together with the ancient righteous, and leads them all to Heaven.

As an idea, the Harrowing of Hell was first expressed in the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*; there, the so-called *Discensus Christi ad Inferos* expands on Psalm 23:7 (Authorised Version Ps. 24:7): "Adtollite portas […] et introibit rex gloriae" ("Lift up your gates […] and the King of Glory shall enter in", in the Douay-Rheims translation). Sermons, plays and para-dramatic liturgical texts attest to the Harrowing's popularity in medieval alpine regions, as well as in Spain, Italy, France, and England. Easter celebrations across Europe featured scenes of souls in Limbo who rejoiced at the prospect of their deliverance, with devils bustling about to defend their citadel from Christ's challenge to "lift up your gates."[25] As a form of medieval religious drama, the Harrowing of Hell is certainly part of Western cultural heritage; however, as its ephemeral expression has fallen into disuse, it is no longer a living asset, and theatre historians must determine the intangible expressions of performance from textual fragments that are sometimes at a distance from theatrical practice.

The Lindisfarne *Harrowing of Hell*, as recorded in the Book of Cerne, begins with an "oration" of the ancient righteous who greet the descending Saviour with tearful voices ("lacrimabili voce"). They are released. Adam and Eve are left in chains, pleading. The text breaks off midway through Eve's lament; to understand what might happen afterwards, a reader must turn to the Blickling Homily. Here, the sermon for Easter Sunday (Homily 7, "Dominica Pascha") frames the Harrowing of Hell with a discourse on the Last Judgement. It recalls how Christ

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[23] Princeton, Blickling Homilies, fols. 50r-58v, high-resolution photos available online: https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/3499523#view. Date and characterization according to Kelly, ed., *The Blickling Homilies*, xxix.

[24] The Blickling Homilies and the Lindisfarne *Harrowing of Hell* derive from a Latin homily, now lost: Dumville, "Liturgical Drama," 375.

[25] Muir, *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe*, 138-9.

> sent his glorious spirit into the abyss of hell and there bound and humbled the prince of all darkness and of eternal death, and exceedingly troubled all his confederates, and brake in pieces hell-gates and their iron bolts, and from thence brought out all his elect; and he overcame the darkness of the devils with his shining light.

The devils regret that "there is now no weeping nor lamentation heard here, as was previously wont to be, in this place of torment."[26]

Like other Anglo-Saxon homilies, Blickling has a palpable sense of immediacy; its narrator often resorts to direct speech.[27] A vivid, almost comical example would be the devils expressing their alarm about Christ's arrival to Satan, exhorting the latter to listen. The passage is nicely captured in both R. Morris's aforementioned Victorian translation, and, more recently, in Richard Kelly's version:

> They, very fearful and terrified, spoke in the following terms, "Where does this come from, so strong and so bright and so terrible? […] Our prince, do you hear? This is the same one for whose death you have long striven, and in the event of which you promised us much plunder. But what will you do about him now?"[28]

Sometimes the narrative slips back to the past tense, but the sense of urgency is sustained by the present tense of the direct speeches. Eve cries out:

> Hear, O gracious God, my voice with which I, poor one, cry unto thee, for my life and my years have been consumed in sorrow and lamentation. (tr. Morris)
>
> Gracious God, listen to my voice with which I, now wretched, cry to you, as my life and my years have been wasted in sorrow and in lamentation. (tr. Kelly)
>
> Gehyr þu arfæsta God min stefne, mid þære ic earm to þe cleopie; forþon on sare & on *geomrunga min lîf & mine gear syndon fornumene.[29]

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[26] *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, ed. Morris, 84-85.

[27] Compare, for instance, *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, ed. Morris.

[28] *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. Kelly, 58-9.

[29] *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. Morris, 88-9.

Morris's translation, with the added vocal "O," captures better the emphatic plea, underscored by the inverted word order in Old English ("hear you, gracious God").

Considering such instances of direct speech and audience exhortation to listen, the Blickling Easter homily demonstrates a strong affinity to performance. A number of factors both textual and paratextual have led to the classification of the Lindisfarne *Harrowing of Hell* as outright liturgical drama. Red ink highlights the title as well as the first sentence of each narrative passage. David Dumville proposes that this rubrication was meant to differentiate between narrative sections and a protagonist's direct speech.[30] Coloured indications such as "now Adam cries with miserable voice to the lord", "then Adam kneels," or "thereafter Eve, crying, says," fulfil thus a twin purpose of *narrative* and *stage direction*. Investigating the text's grammar, John McKinnell notes further evidence for dramatic performance: the narrative's present tense points at stage direction; the masculine adverbs associated with the figure of Eve would be incongruous, unless they indicate a male performer of this female role ("conparat*us* sum iumentis insipientib*us* et n*un*c similis fact*us* sum illis" "I have been matched with foolish cattle and have now become as they are").[31]

In consequence, the project mounted a production of the Lindisfarne *Harrowing of Hell*, directed by John McKinnell, in one of Durham's medieval parish churches, St Oswald's, in 2016. The cast included researchers, students, and local singers and speakers, in costumes recalling an early medieval period. The production faced a number of challenges; a few examples might suffice here. To begin with, the fragmentary play broke off with Eve's lament, and the main protagonists, Christ and Satan, lacked lines. To mitigate this, McKinnell produced a composite playscript, combining the Cerne text with the ending from the Blickling Homilies, and supplying dialogue between Satan and Christ from a contemporaneous continental source, a ninth-century liturgical re-enactment of the Harrowing of Hell in a Latin manuscript from Metz.[32] Speeches between the devils were divided "to give an antiphonal effect," a device which would have been familiar to performers and audiences of Anglo-Saxon liturgy.[33] Except for Satan's spoken dialogue, all lines were sung in plainchant, mostly adopted from the *Liber Usualis*, a collection compiled at the Abbey of Solesmes which featured Gregorian chant that been in common use in

[30] "[…] to differentiate clearly between narrative and spoken sections". Dumville, "Liturgical Drama," 380.

[31] Cambridge University Library, MS Ll.1.10, fol. 99v.

[32] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 9428.

[33] For production decisions see https://community.dur.ac.uk/reed.ne/?page_id=847.

the Catholic church since the sixth century.[34] A further important decision concerned the play's language. Cerne's Latin text may well have been obscure to many Anglo-Saxon listeners, while both Latin and Old English would be largely unfamiliar to a modern audience. One option might have been to maintain the original languages, and thus highlight in performance the composite nature of the production's base text; however, philological attention to textual variants would have resulted in the loss of performance cohesion and impact. Generally, producers of medieval theatre repertoire, especially of the religious kind, are mindful of how to make their work relevant to modern, multi-faith and secular audiences. Should they keep close to the original text, or resort to adaptation to make it more contemporary?[35] A guiding principle of the project production was to make rare and unfamiliar forms of early drama accessible to modern audiences, but how to achieve this without watering down the inherent strangeness of an Old English play? Ultimately the Lindisfarne *Harrowing of Hell* was staged in modern English – with the exception of Christ and Satan. The choice of Latin for their lines highlighted the separateness and authority of these figures by direct reference to the Vulgate ("Quis est iste rex gloriae?" … "Adtollite portas"). Everyone else sang in modern English, which established a sense of connectedness with the audience. Programme notes explained the play's sources and the director's decisions. In performance, the vividness of Old English liturgical drama became apparent; the play also surprised by its brevity. An event of epic significance in Christian thought was over in twenty minutes. The production is now available in a documentary film.[36]

Lawrence of Durham's *Peregrini*

Lawrence of Durham (1110-1154) was a monk and later Prior of Durham's Benedictine monastery. His liturgical play *Peregrini* was recorded around the time of his death in 1154, and survives in a twelfth-century manuscript now at Palace Green Library, Durham.[37] The text

[34] See Robley, "Music in *The Harrowing of Hell,*" http://community.dur.ac.uk/reed.ne/?page_id=849.

[35] See Rogerson, "Medieval Mystery Plays in the Modern World," 343-66.

[36] Performance on July 8, 2016; about 20 mins. Film available at https://community.dur.ac.uk/reed.ne/?page_id=82.

[37] "Rithmus Laurentij de Christo et eius discipulis", DUL MS Cosin V.iii.1, fols. 104r-106v; created between 1130-1170. The work's misleading title of a poem ("rithmus") was added in the sixteenth century; in topic and structure it clearly belongs to the medieval *Peregrinus* genre. *Durham Priory Library*

belongs to the genre of pilgrim plays, current across Europe, and has been proposed as an outstanding example among these for two reasons: it is the only known pilgrim play set in rhymed verse throughout, and, exceptionally, it features strong differences in the characterisation of its protagonists, ranging from a habitual pessimist to a young enthusiast.[38] Lawrence's version is based on the Gospel of Luke; it introduces two pilgrims, youthful, upbeat Luke, and the more sullen Cleophas, who travel from Jerusalem to Emmaus. On the road, they are joined by a stranger; this is the risen Christ, whom they do not recognize. During a meal at Emmaus, Luke and Cleophas express their grief over Christ's death. Christ consoles them and vanishes just as Luke recognises him. Overjoyed, the pilgrims return to Jerusalem. Christ appears twice to the apostles and so overcomes the apostle Thomas's scepticism about the Messiah's resurrection. Thomas's final confession of faith leads naturally into a triumphal processional hymn with which the play ends.

Lawrence's playtext was originally untitled, and although it is rubricated with the characters' speech labels in red in the left-hand margin, it includes no music or stage directions.[39] This might be explained by the fact that *Peregrini* is not preserved in a liturgical manuscript but a miscellany: the dialogue and the processional hymn conclude an anthology of Lawrence's writings in Latin verse, which in turn is complemented by various kinds of oratory, medical recipes, a consolatory text, a *prosa* (hymn) on the resurrection, and a verse epic on the redemption of mankind. An early modern reader considered the work to be a poem, giving it the title of "Rithmus." It should be borne in mind, though, that dramatic texts were routinely termed "poems" in the early modern period; furthermore, the dearth of paratextual pointers to drama need not indicate an absence of dramatic purpose. Lawrence wrote rhymed Latin dialogues, which suggests sung performance. The work would have been suitable for staging at Vespers on Easter Monday. On this basis, John McKinnell proceeded to a full production that was sung throughout. It involved a cast of academics, students, and local singers, all dressed in medieval tunics, and took place at St. Oswald's Church, Durham, in July 2016.

To enable a full-scale performance, a number of missing elements had to be inferred. As with *The Harrowing of Hell*, original music did not survive, so in order to recreate the sung lines, Margot Fassler, a specialist at the University of Notre Dame who had also advised on *The Harrowing of Hell*, chose appropriate music which can be found in mid-twelfth-century

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Recreated, https://iiif.durham.ac.uk/index.html?manifest=t1mcz30ps64z&canvas=t1tmc87pq352. See also McKinnell, "On Lawrence of Durham's *Peregrini,*" 12-30, and "A Twelfth-Century Durham Play," 38-39.

[38] Doglio and Chiabò, eds., *Letteratura e drammaturgia dei Pellegrinaggi*.

[39] See McKinnell, "A Twelfth-Century Durham Play," 38-39.

manuscripts that belonged to Durham Priory. For instance, the play's final procession was set to the hymn "Laudes crucis," a tune popular across twelfth-century Europe and indeed in Durham.[40] The *Peregrini* manuscript implies movement from "Jerusalem" to "Emmaus" and back, but does not specify how the pilgrims should travel around the church space or where Emmaus should be located. In this production, the discussion between Christ and the pilgrims on the way to Emmaus proceeded from west to east with Cleophas and Luke using the side aisle, while Christ took the central one. This emphasised the protagonists' respective status and also embedded the audience more closely: the audience were literally in the middle of the pilgrims' questions and Christ's teaching. The nave altar was removed; instead a staging area had been cleared in front of the altar screen, with Emmaus located on the right (from the audience's point of view). In the second scene the apostles were placed all round the church for their argument about Christ's resurrection, so that the audience were again immersed in the action. Christ made two sudden entries through curtains that screened off the choir at the east end; these curtains were dawn back for the final triumphant procession, in which the choir had come to represent heaven.

Spacing and costuming (a halo for Christ) established the authority of individual performers and offered important extra mimetic clues about the action, for all lines were delivered in Latin. This was unavoidable, as it would have been impossible for any translation to preserve Lawrence's ingenious and inventive rhyme schemes (as, for example, in the first forty lines, which all use a single rhyme-sound without any rhyming word occurring more than once).[41]

In Lawrence's time, an educated monastic audience might have coped with the sung verse, yet anyone else who only spoke the vernacular would have required such additional signposting. The 2016 production highlighted issues of comprehension. The audience was to a large extent composed of academic specialists (delegates of an international conference on early theatre), although many of the regular congregation of the church were also present. A substantial programme was required, in the form of a booklet with the original text, translation,

[40] Chief musical sources were DUL MS Cosin V.v.6 (late eleventh to twelfth centuries), which includes "laudes crucis", and Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.3.55, a twelfth-century manuscript originally from Durham with chants for St. Oswald; see Fassler, "Music in *Peregrini,*" http://community.dur.ac.uk/reed.ne/?page_id=823.

[41] See also Kindermann, "Das Emmausgedicht des Laurentius von Durham," 79-100, and Rigg, "Lawrence of Durham: Dialogues and Easter Hymn," 42-126.

and commentary. The filmed documentary uses English subtitles.[42]

Discussions with the director, cast, and members of the audience resulted in the consensus that the Lindisfarne *Harrowing of Hell* might lend itself to a regular revival but Lawrence's *Peregrini* seemed less suitable. In the latter case, singers made full use of the church space and thus had opportunities for closer contact with audiences seated in all areas of the church; yet the play's overall effect was more static than that of the much shorter *Harrowing of Hell*, which had, after all, featured a satanic stage fight. The length of *Peregrini* (45 minutes in performance) and its Latinate diction posed not only an enormous challenge for any non-specialist audience; the dialogue had to be memorised and delivered in plainchant, which required months of rehearsal for untrained if talented amateur performers. Overall, the production in 2016 cast a brief light on the intangible elements hidden in Lawrence's six-page Latin script and enabled the local audience to take pride in it as a past cultural achievement; yet too many factors might militate against an annual effort to revive it. Its nature simply seems too remote by now to galvanize a wider community into a regular re-enactment of this particular asset of their dramatic heritage along the lines of UNESCO's ideals.

The Medieval Boy Bishops of Durham

Circumstances might be different in the case of this particular lost tradition. The custom of choosing a boy to act as "bishop" for a day was familiar throughout Western Europe in the later Middle Ages.[43] In England, boy bishop ceremonies featured in colleges and churches alike, at Oxford, Eton, Durham, York, Beverley, London, Sarum, and Newcastle; the practice has been revived in Hereford and Salisbury. On special feast days, often ones appropriate to children – usually the Feast of St. Nicholas (December 6) or the Feast of the Holy Innocents (December 28) – a boy bishop would be chosen from among a church's choristers to become an *episcopus choristarum* or *episcopus puerorum* – a sumptuously dressed dignitary in miniature who commanded a day's religious festivities with a touch of earnest parody. York's regulations from 1367 indicate that conscientious service as well as a good voice and good looks were required:

[42] Filmed documentary of production on July 8, 2016 at https://community.dur.ac.uk/reed.ne/?page_id=80.

[43] Hone, *Ancient Mysteries Described*; Milway, "Boy Bishops in Early Modern Europe", 87-97; Richard DeMolen, "*Pueri Christi Imitatio*", 17-28.

> the Bishop of the boys should be […] he who had served longest in the church, and who should be most suitable; provided, nevertheless, that he was sufficiently handsome in person.[44]

He might preach a sermon, sing, command a troupe of monks and choristers, or lead communal prayers and processions.

As John McKinnell and Mark Chambers show in the present volume, Durham's tradition is exceptional in that the city had two boy bishops, not one; and they officiated not in winter but around Ascension and Pentecost, between mid-May and early June. The boy bishop of Durham Cathedral was chosen from the children of the Almonry School (the predecessor of the current Chorister School), founded around 1340 and located next to the Priory Gate. The *Rites of Durham*, a sixteenth-century manuscript describing pre-Reformation religious ceremony in Durham, mentions a "song school" at the south end of the Cathedral's Nine Altars, to teach six children to sing at services. The school provided books and facilities to support the learning effort in inclement weather, "all the floure Bourded in vnder foote for warmnes, and long formes sett fast in y^{e} ground for y^{e} Children to sitt on." The master also taught his charges to play on the organ on feast days, and to accompany the monks and perform at evensong.[45] The second boy bishop, the so-called "Bishop of Elvet", or "boy bishop of the church of St. Oswald", came from a parish on the other side of the River Wear. In Ascension week, processions linked the cathedral and Durham's parish churches, and both boy bishops played an important role in these. What their respective duties were remains unclear; they may well have included leading the processions, preaching a sermon, and singing the liturgy.

Such practices were formally put to an end by a royal proclamation in 1541, which outlawed children who, "straungely decked and apparayled" like bishops, sang mass, preached in the pulpit, and moved "with songes and daunces from house to house, blessynge the people."[46] Even so, there was a possibility that the practice may have continued locally (although not in Durham), if George Hall's account is to be believed ("I know not whether in some places it may not be so still"), and more recent studies have traced analogues of the practice in the nineteenth

[44] Register of capitulary acts, York Cathedral, December 2, 1367, in *Two Sermons*, ed. Rimbault, xvi.

[45] *Rites of Durham,* ed. Fowler, 62-3.

[46] *A proclamation deuysed by the Kinges maiesty*; also *Two Sermons*, ed. Rimbault, xx-xxi.

century.[47] According to Hall, children in surplices greeted the grinning populace with blessings: "Yea that boyes in that holy sport were wont to sing Masses, and to climbe into the Pulpit to preach (no doubt learnedly and edifyingly) to the simple Auditory." Hall further noted with horror that the sport was not only practised in England but also abroad, in Salzburg, Austria, for instance; thus early English writers were aware of the custom's wider geographical dimensions.[48]

These elements encouraged the project to stage a procession with a boy bishop during an international theatre festival in July 2016.[49] Our boy bishop came, as his predecessors did, from Durham's Chorister School; he was a trained singer, about twelve years old. Followed by singing performers in Renaissance-style clothing, the boy bishop toured Palace Green, a large square enclosed by castle, cathedral, almshouse and Bishop Cosin's library. Early sources indicate rich clothing for such occasions. A Northumberland household book had specified costly array for the local *episcopus puerorum*: this included a mitre garnished with pearls and precious stones, red vestments with silver lions and golden birds in the borders, copes of blue silk, and a scarlet tabard lined with white silk.[50] In line with such evidence, our boy bishop was expensively dressed in Venetian lampas which copied a Renaissance pattern.[51]

Very few texts for boy bishop ceremonies survive, but there are, for instance, sermons given by the boy bishops of London and Gloucester in the Tudor period. Both draw attention to the speakers' youth. The first, preached by a boy bishop of St. Paul's, London, probably before 1496, capitalizes on the speaker's child-like innocence:

> In the begynnynge thenne of this symple exhortacyon/ that I a childe, wantynge the habyte of connynge may be dyrected by him/ that gaue to that childe Danyell (Sermone*m* rectum et spiritum Deor*um*).[52]

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[47] Orme, "The Culture of Children in Medieval England," 48-88, at 71, draws attention to the practice of boys going around singing and asking for food or money between November 23 and 25, on the feast days of St. Clement and St. Catherine.

[48] Hall, *The Triumphs of Rome*, 25-6.

[49] *The Sacred and the Profane*, dir. Lieven Baert and Barbara Ravelhofer, July 10, 2016. Documentary (46 min., 2016) available at http://community.dur.ac.uk/reed.ne/?page_id=27.

[50] Parchment roll, transcribed in *Two Sermons*, ed. Rimbault, pp. xxiv-xxv, and Grose and Astle, *The Antiquarian Repertory*, 4:322-3. No date is given, and the roll's current whereabouts are unknown. I am obliged to the editors of the *REED Northumberland* and *Percy Papers* volumes, Suzanne Westfall and Bob Alexander, for trying to track the document and for their antiquarian references.

[51] Rubelli, ruby-coloured "Vignola", a textile composed of silk, linen, and acetate.

[52] [John Alcock], *In die Innocencium sermo*, in *Two Sermons*, ed. Rimbault, 3.

The second, a sermon preached by the chorister John Stubs at Gloucester Cathedral on the day of the Holy Innocents in 1558, survives in a compilation from the second half of the sixteenth century which originated in Yorkshire. The volume highlights the text's dramatic potential, as it further includes Tudor songs and ballads, as well as John Lydgate's dialogic *Dance of macabre*.[53] Stubs addresses his audience divided by age group, beginning with the oldest listeners. Sadly his sermon does not reveal the speaker's own age, leaving matters with the cryptic declaration "I am not very old my selfe."[54] The boy bishop comments on his own failings: "Speake I must, allthough lyke a child, and stammer owt of this word of God a briefe exhortacion to both sortes, the elders and yongers".[55] He exhorts the audience to find their innocence again, and ends by appealing to parents and teachers to assist in the process by using the rod liberally.

If sermons for child bishops are difficult to come by, music is even rarer. For any evidence it is necessary to look beyond England. Christmas songs with a bishop play are included in the *Moosburg Gradual* (1360), a codex which reveals medieval festive practices in the Bavarian diocese of Freising, Germany.[56] Its compiler, Johannes of Perchausen, recorded four "well-known" songs that accompanied the election of a "clericulus" to the role of boy bishop ("Cum infulatus et vestitiis presul intronisatur"); the latter's exit from the church; and subsequent dancing ("Cum itur extra ecclesiam ad Choream").[57] The telling combination of religious rite, song, and dance in this Continental example invites speculation about the nature of boy bishop ceremonies in medieval and early modern England. In Perchausen's view, the tradition allowed for some playfulness while forestalling pranks of a ruder sort; similar sentiments are reflected in English sermons which, while being delivered by a parodic bishop *en miniature*, yet castigate ill-behaved choristers. Licence tempered with didactic purpose and real piety appears to have been a key concern in Bavaria and more Northern regions alike.

The project sought to explore manuscript music in action, and thus we experimented with a number of popular medieval tunes. For communal singing during the procession on Palace Green, we recurred to a hymn appropriate to Ascension. Its tune had been current across Europe since the twelfth century, and was still used by Miles Coverdale in *Goostly Psalmes* (1535), where it was matched with the metrical psalm "Christe is now rysen agayne / from his death and

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[53] BL MS Cotton Vespasian A XXV, fols. 164r-170r, ed. in *Two Sermons*, ed. Rimbault.

[54] *Two Sermons*, ed. Rimbault, 23.

[55] *Two Sermons*, ed. Rimbault, 20.

[56] Now Munich University Library, 2° Cod. MS 156 (*Moosburger Graduale*, facs. ed. with commentary by David Hiley).

[57] Munich University Library, 2° Cod. MS 156, fol. 231v, 232r; *Moosburger Graduale*, ed. Hiley, xviii.

all his payne."[58] The performance revealed interesting acoustic details about a specific area of the World Heritage Site. Much of Palace Green's built fabric dates to the medieval period and the seventeenth century; buildings are at least two storeys high. Closed off on all four sides, the site keeps out wind. All these factors facilitate open-air speaking and singing. Surviving tangible locations such as Palace Green may offer important clues about the acoustics of lost spaces, such as Paul's Cross, London's pre-eminent address for open-air sermons. How was it possible for a preacher to be heard by hundreds, if not thousands, at Paul's Cross? Have reports about mass audiences been exaggerated? Durham's World Heritage Site might be used as a laboratory to explore such intangible historical contexts and purposes. As Laurajane Smith argues, "heritage is what goes on at these sites."[59]

The resonance of hard stone and brick façades favours the resonance of high-pitched voices such as that of choristers, and indeed, the boy bishop's voice was remarkably audible during the procession. Studies of indoor playhouses in early modern London have argued that these were purpose-built to accommodate the voices of boy actors; a famous example would be *The Tempest*'s Ariel singing in the Jacobean Blackfriars Theatre.[60] The Blackfriars no longer stands; our experiment corroborates that stone works well for young voices even under adverse open-air conditions. Professional boy actors, as they became common in England from the late sixteenth century onwards, had much in common with the choristers of earlier periods, no less ambitious in their acoustic mimesis.

The project also delved into the practical performance of musical repertory for indoor uses. Hector Sequera transcribed two pieces from the *Moosburg Gradual*: *Mos florentis* and *Flos campi profert lilium*. Both were once sung by Moosburg's boy bishop. In 2017, our boy bishop studied and performed the songs in the medieval concert hall on Palace Green. He was supported by several older singers from the university's music students.[61] The variety in age and pitch was consistent with practice in the medieval north-east: for instance, York's child-bishop travelled the diocese in the company of a tenor and a singer with a *medius* voice.[62]

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[58] Coverdale, *Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes*: "Of the Resurrection," fol. 27rv.

[59] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 44.

[60] Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England.*

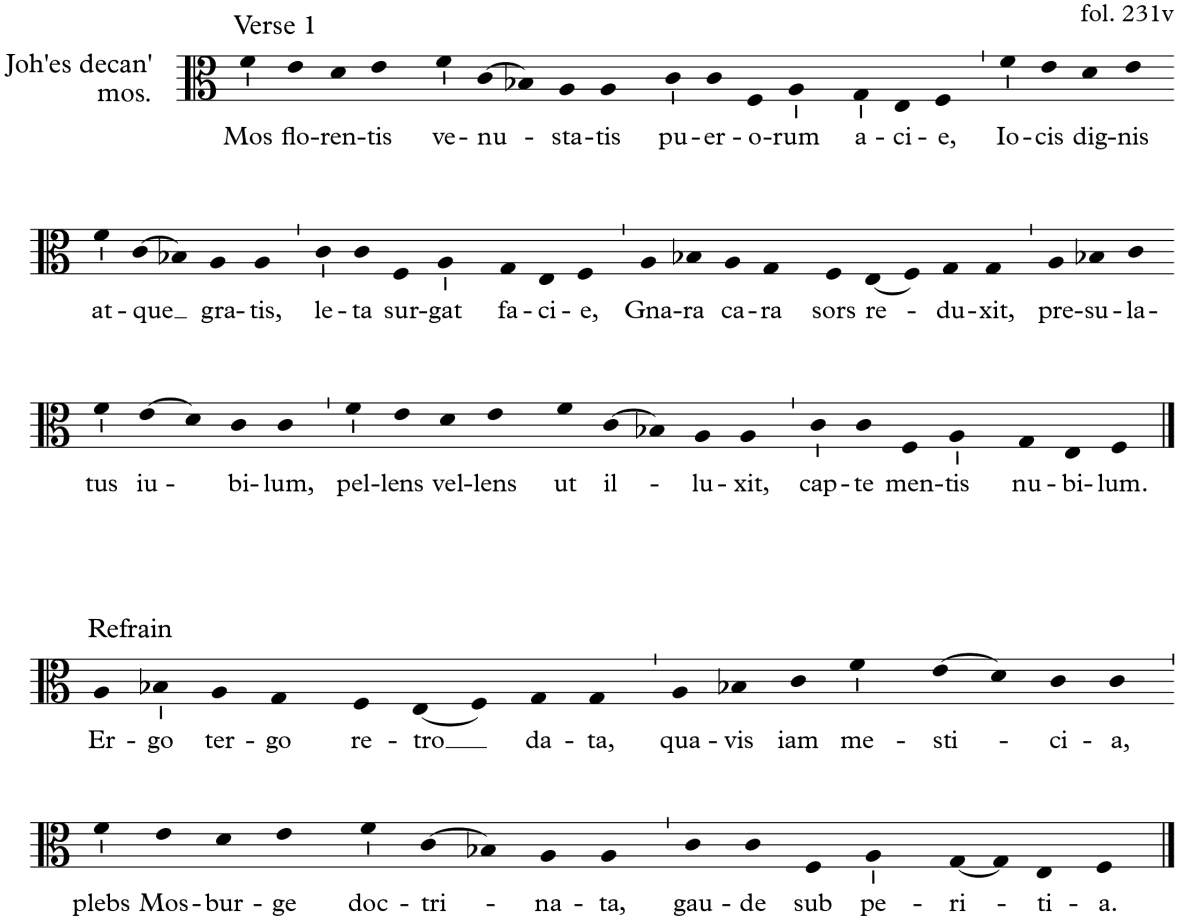
[61] Concert "The Dragon and the Bone Queen," Durham Concert Hall, June 3, 2017; dir. by Hector Sequera and Barbara Ravelhofer.

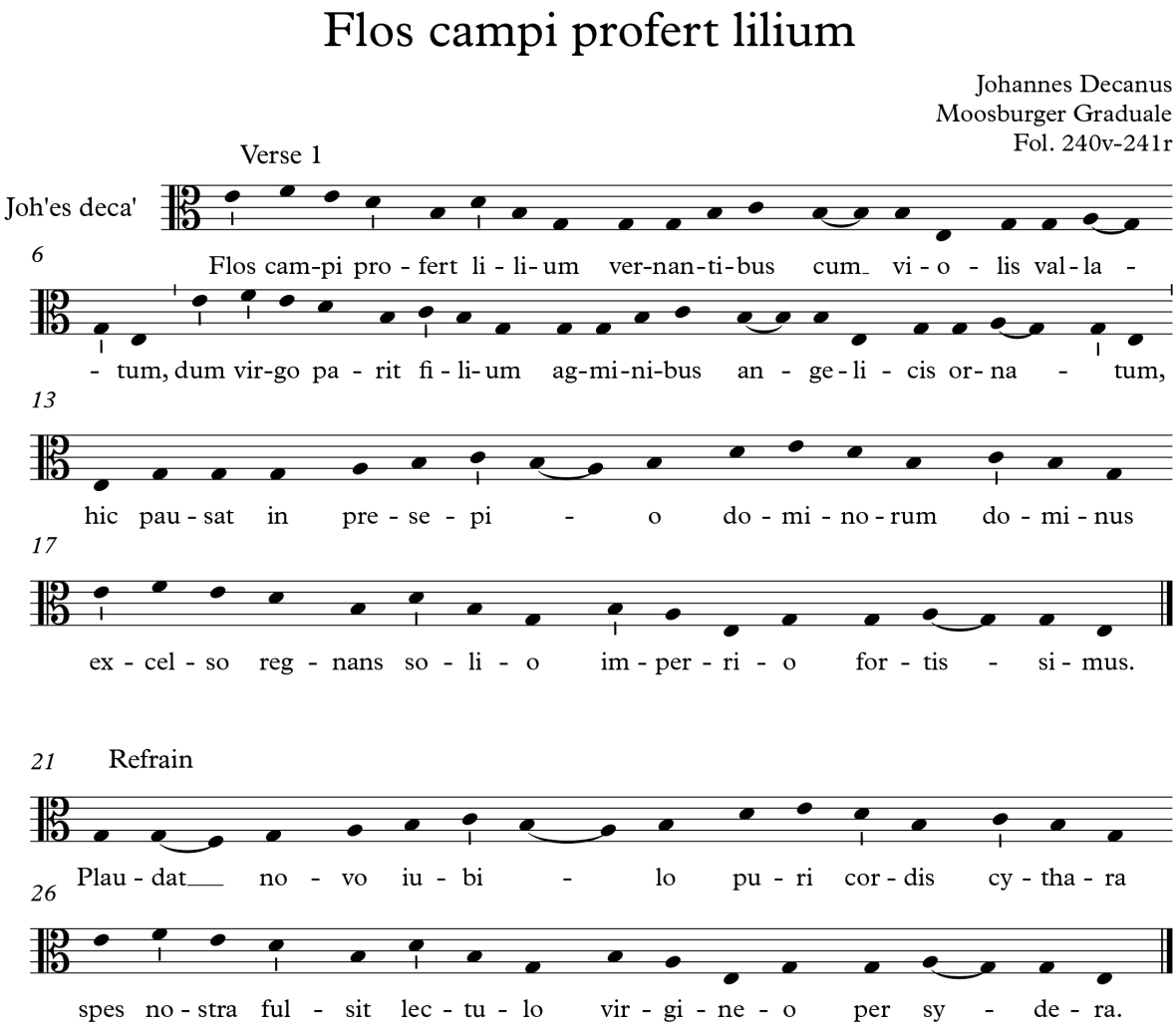
[62] *Computus* detailing the accounts of John de Cave, boy bishop of York in 1396, *Two Sermons*, ed. Rimbault, xv.

[Insert Illustrations 14a and 14b here.]

Mos florentis venustatis

Johannes Decanus
Moosburger Gradual
fol. 231v





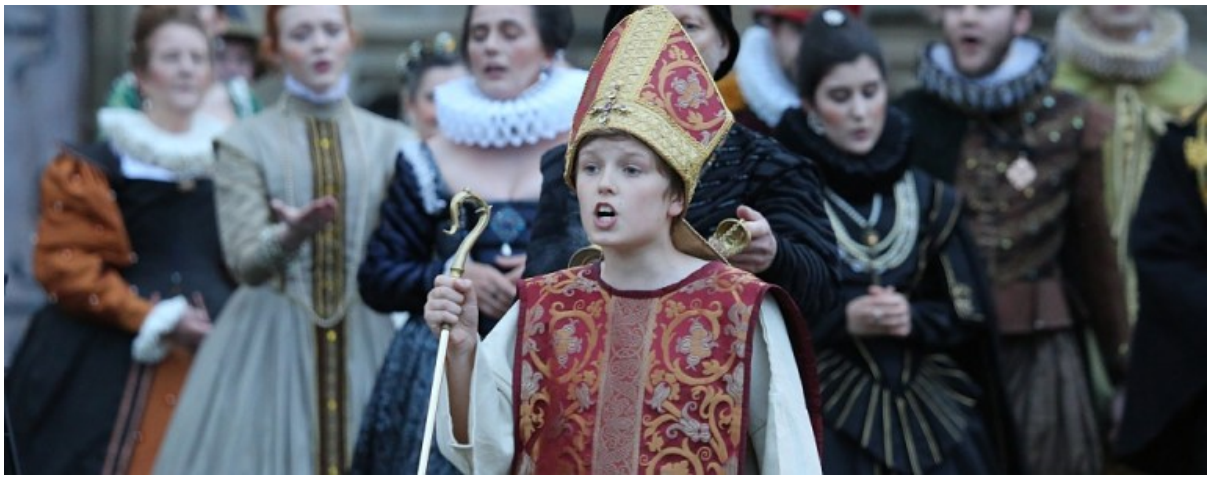
Mos florentis venustatis and *Flos campi profert lilium*. Setting by Hector Sequera (2017).

In performance, the effect was reminiscent of hearing something akin to the *Carmina Burana*. In both *Mos florentis venustatis* and *Flos campi profert lilium*, the refrain began in a four-stressed trochaic rhythm, which struck the popular note of medieval vagrant lyrics. Indeed, in Renaissance poetry, trochaic metre was often used to indicate dances or a lightness of tone; Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* makes ample use of it in the lines given to the fairies. The chorister did not find the boy bishop's parts particularly challenging; he worked with his instructor for about a week to memorize and sing them. The 2017 audience was largely local. Feedback collected on the occasion suggests that listeners found the singing fascinatingly beautiful; for them it elucidated the county's history and added to the atmosphere; some asked for the boy bishop ceremony to be revived.[63] Durham Cathedral has since indicated cautious interest; yet any revival

[63] Of an audience of about 70, 60 per cent left feedback; relevant statements: "The music really adds to the atmosphere – fascinating history." "It was a wonderful combination of literature, music, religious

may need to make concessions to current needs and sensitivities. It was, for instance, suggested that girls too should be eligible for the role.[64] Any engagement with a cultural asset is, we believe, bound to change it. A living world heritage site must remain committed to both an inherited past and contemporary uses.

[Insert Illustration 15 here.]



The tradition of Durham's Boy Bishops as celebrated on Palace Green in 2016.

Dragons and Bishops

The north-east is uncommonly rich in dragon lore, possibly a consequence of its Viking settlements that introduced Norse myths and their plentiful stock of scaly monsters to early medieval England.[65] The project uncovered a real dragon that had, apparently, visited Durham in 1569:

> A certaine Italian brought into the Cittie of Durham the 11th Day of June […] A very greate, strange & monstrous serpent in length sixxteene feete, In quantity of Dimentions greater than a great horse. Which was taken & killed

history and myth." "Fantastic, loved every minute of the event, the child bishop should be reinserted in the Durham traditions."

[64] Exchanges with the Dean of Durham Cathedral, Andrew Tremlett, and Vice-Dean Michael Hampel, November 2019.

[65] See also James Beckett's podcast about local dragons, "The History of the Lambton Worm and Sockburn Worm", http://community.dur.ac.uk/reed.ne/?page_id=2322.

> by speciall pollicie in Æthiopia within the Turkes dominions. But before it was killed, It had devoured (as it is credibly thought) more than 1000 persons And also destroyed a whole Countrey.[66]

The presence of such dragons is both tangible, for instance, in the survival of manuscripts recording travelling entertainers, and intangible, in oral transmission. A famous representative thereof, the legend of the Sockburn worm, is connected with a land-owning family in County Durham, and still has profound resonances today. Famously, it inspired Lewis Carroll, who lived for a time in Sunderland, to compose the poem *Jabberwocky*; and both Carroll and the worm are given their due in the regional graphic novel *Alice in Sunderland*.[67] According to the tale, Sir John Conyers smote a foul serpent which ravaged the lands near the river Tees. For this feat he and his descendants were rewarded with the lands of Sockburn by the Prince Bishop of Durham. Historically, the Conyers family established its seat soon after the Conquest. A broad-bladed late thirteenth-century weapon called the "Conyers falchion" is still on display to visitors of Durham Cathedral today.[68] This falchion was an integral prop in the installation ceremony of each incoming bishop. Traditionally, bishops of Durham were greeted by a descendant of the dragon-slaying Conyers family at the borders of the diocese: either at Neasham, south of Darlington, where the old road up North crossed the river Tees at the High Ford, or at the medieval bridge of Croft-on-Tees, in North Yorkshire. The bishop was offered the falchion with these solemn words:

> My Lord Bishop, I here present you with the faulchion wherewith the champion Conyers slew the worm, dragon, or fiery flying serpent, which destroyed man, woman, and child; in memory of which the King then reigning gave him the manor of Sockburn, to hold by this tenure, that upon the first entrance of every Bishop into the country, this faulchion should be presented.[69]

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[66] St. Nicholas's Church, Durham, parish register for 1569.

[67] Talbot, *Alice in Sunderland: An Entertainment*.

[68] DURCL 18.2.1. Bronze guard, steel blade, handle decorated with the arms of the Earl of Northumbria and the Plantagenet kings of England. Produced between 1260-1270; length 89 cm. http://collections.durhamcathedral.co.uk/Details/collect/1866; Wall, "The Conyers Falchion," 77-83.

[69] Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, 3:243; *The Correspondence of John Cosin*, ed. Ornsby, 2:21, note.

The bishop then returned the falchion with courteous well-wishings, renewing, as it were, the feudal bond between the church and local gentry. John Cosin, who was prebend at the cathedral under Charles I and who after the Restoration became bishop of Durham, fondly remembered his own reception in August 1661, as he was greeted by the crowd at the river Tees:

> The confluence and alacritie both of the gentry, clergie, and other people was very greate; and at my first entrance through the river of Tease there was scarce any water to be seene for the multitude of horse and men that filled it, when the sword that killed the dragon was delivered to me with all the formality of trumpets and gunshots and acclamations that might be made. I am not much affected with such showes, but, however, the cheerfullness of the country in the reception of their Bishop is a good earnest given for better matters which, by the grace and blessing of God, may in good time follow here among us all.[70]

By Cosin's time, the ritual seemed dated for a Restoration prince of the church. In Adrian Green's words, it demonstrated "the anachronism of the bishopric in an England, which was increasingly orientated on property rights rather than feudal obligations; the 1660 Statute of Tenures had, in fact, ended the bishop of Durham's rights as chief feudal lord in the Palatinate".[71]

Yet the custom appears to have responded to a need, for it has persisted into the present, even though it is now carried out with a replica of the original falchion. An anecdote circulates locally about Bishop David Jenkins, appointed in 1984, when the British miners' strike began. Welcomed by the Mayor of Darlington, Jenkins allegedly swung the falchion over his head, declaring his intent to slay therewith the twin dragons of homelessness and poverty.[72] The example illustrates forcibly the nature of intangible heritage as "a living process that is not comprised of forgotten or abandoned practices but reflective of contemporary complex and changing identities."[73] In popular memory, the dragon-slaying act connected with a bishop known for caring passionately about local communities and social justice.

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[70] Letter to William Sancroft, Aug. 22, 1661; *The Correspondence of John Cosin*, 2:21.

[71] Green, *Building for England*, 62.

[72] As told to me in 2019 by Shaun McAlister, exhibition assistant at Durham Cathedral.

[73] Alivizatou, "The Paradoxes of Intangible Heritage," 9-21, at 19.

The prolific presence of dragons in local lore, religious ceremony, and indeed even in records pertaining to popular performance, encouraged the project to build a stage dragon with the materials and techniques that would have been available at the time the "certaine Italian" travelled in England's north-east. Our own project dragon had the dimensions of the sixteenth-century Ethiopian worm and was otherwise (given the lacunae about its physical properties) the creative brainchild of local artists from Hexham, Northumberland. The dragon has since become something of a local mascot, borrowed by local enthusiasts; it tours Durham at Halloween, and makes guest appearances at the so-called *Gathering*, an annual parade in Morpeth, Northumberland.

Conclusions

At present, UNESCO criteria are predominantly used in the Heritage sector and disciplines such as Archaeology; yet among scholars of English theatre history they have barely registered. As the case of Durham demonstrates, terms such as "tangible" and "intangible cultural heritage" might profitably become conceptual currency in the history of performance. UNESCO's international conventions allow researchers to reflect on their work in a global, trans-disciplinary context; indeed UNESCO terms might stimulate and validate research-led engagement activities, because UNESCO values community involvement in cultural heritage. In academic research, measures such as the creative revival of dramatic heritage from fragmentary evidence, or experimental retro-engineering tend to be relegated to a minor status, perhaps because touring with a stage dragon might be suspected of being too much fun when compared to, for instance, the hard grind of the traditional learned monograph. From UNESCO's point of view, however, there is merit in community-based, practical research which combines academic knowledge with craftsmanship and teaching and thus safeguards and promotes rare expertise in the arts and sciences – from palaeography to choreography, textile manufacturing, puppeteering, or introducing learners of all ages to practising early musical instruments. For good reason we "grasp" an idea, and cherish the "hands-on" tackling of an abstract concept in a concrete example: the process of understanding and learning is aided by palpable experience.[74] REED North-East showed the benefits of research-led full productions on specific sites. We believe that *Peregrini*, the Lindisfarne *Harrowing of Hell* and our dragon pageants have stimulated heritage

[74] I adopt Anette Rein's observations on dance for early drama (see her "Flee(t)ing Dances!," 93-106, at 98).

literacy within our own discipline, and led to a greater public awareness of, and engagement with, Durham's World Heritage Site.

Heritage studies note that, paradoxically, UNESCO as a global organisation seeks to determine what locally counts as Outstanding Universal Value. Critics reason that this approach might introduce arbitrariness; furthermore, internationally agreed principles might separate local communities from the particular cultural asset they cherish.[75] Our project work, however, found UNESCO's criteria sufficiently flexible yet rigorous; they responded very well to the extremely variegated expressions of musical and dramatic evidence we investigated.

With regard to the criteria of tangible and intangible cultural heritage, our research has highlighted how fluid the boundaries between both domains are: the material nature of rubricated manuscripts might gesture at ephemeral dramatic function; architectural remains hold clues about past use; cultural memory may prompt a physical performance. The project has also sharpened our awareness of the intangibles of theatre research, especially the undervalued sonic cultural heritage: the *Durham Song* resounds both in the voice of Dylan Thomas and in Tudor musical settings. Whether listeners understand Latin or not, the vocal echoes of Lawrence's rhymed lines resonate melodiously, giving audiences an aural vision of the musicality of local medieval liturgical drama. In our experience, sounds and music have become just as important as Norman arches. They establish a sense of place both local and sacred. It is no surprise to us that Dylan Thomas became haunted by a Tudor fragment which functions like an echo sounder of the past, with a faint signal of music, cries in a market town, and artless maidens' songs, radiating from a lost location.

In order to aid comprehension, modern museums often add missing elements when they showcase fragments of ancient sculptures and other artefacts. To the visitor, such aids are often clearly signposted so as not to be mistaken for the original: a torso will be endowed with extra limbs made of plaster rather than marble; a painted scene might be completed with sketched outlines. In analogy, we recreated our records very liberally to make them legible for a wider modern public. "Now is not Then, and even the most historically sensitive production cannot claim to reproduce the mental and spiritual circumstances of late medieval drama," argues Jane Oakshott.[76] In the same vein, we did not attempt reconstructions in pursuit of historic authenticity but appealed to present creativity and present expertise: our boy bishop sang not what was studied in Durham's medieval Priory School but what was reconstructed from a

[75] See Alivizatou, "The Proclamation of Masterpieces," 37-8; Lenzerini, "Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Living Culture of Peoples," 101-20.

[76] Oakshott, "The Fortune of Wheels," 372.

manuscript with music for medieval Bavarian choristers. The crucial point was not to deceive audiences but to explain the provenance and combination of performance elements.[77]

The intangible can be both fragile and resilient. Many sculptures of the Viking age have crumbled, yet the north-east's love for "worms" lives on in songs and tales. Such resilience depends on the continued ability of a cultural asset to galvanize the community of which it is part. UNESCO recognizes that living heritage is "in constant evolution," activating or reactivating skills, memories, and knowledge, and appealing to human creativity.[78] In response, heritage and museum studies increasingly understand objects as having dynamic, developing identities.[79] In concrete terms, this means for theatre historians that there is value in recovering and preserving records of early drama; we may also legitimately ask how the relevance of such records might change for modern constituencies. Creative concessions in re-enactment can enable audiences to immerse themselves in a performance: Adam and Eve's modern English may thus be acceptable in a revival of the Lindisfarne *Harrowing of Hell*. As yet, they and others, like our Anglo-Saxon stage devils, or Mother Naked, represent modest achievements compared to long-standing triumphs such as the *Landshut Wedding*. Perhaps we have as yet erected molehills rather than "monuments in the making." The future will show.

Personal afterword

REED North-East was an international research initiative, made possible thanks to funding from five countries. Our onsite team in Durham comprised English, Scottish, German, Slovenian, and American researchers. Thanks to a common effort, rare regional drama was revitalized after hundreds, if not a thousand years. In summer 2016, when we mounted our productions, the UK voted for Brexit. This book went to press on the day the UK exited from the EU. We hope that our work will continue to raise the region's awareness of its rich dramatic heritage and its appreciation of Continental connections.

[77] On the principle of re-creation, see also Ravelhofer, "Rituale der Sterblichkeit," 89-114.

[78] UNESCO, *Basic Texts*, Operational Directives, Ch. 4, Article 107f-k. Article 109a-c, and foreword, October 2018.

[79] Albert, "Heritage Studies – Paradigmatic Reflections," 9-17, at 13.

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